

## Message Text

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PAGE 01 MAPUTO 01147 071602Z

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S E C R E T MAPUTO 1147

NODIS CHEROKEE

FROM LOW

DEPT PLEASE PASS DAR, LUSAKA PRETORIA

E.O.11652: XGDS-3

TAGS: PDEV, RH, ZA

SUBJECT: RHODESIA: CONVERSATION WITH GAYLARD

SUMMARY GAYLARD STRESSED TO GRAHAM AND ME THE ANGER OF THE WHITE POPULATION AND SUBSEQUENT IMPOSSIBILITY OF FURTHER NEGOTIATIONS WITH THE PF FOR THE TIME BEING. HE DENIED RHODESIA WAS PLANNING AN ATTACK ON ZAMBIA. ELECTIONS IN DECEMBER ARE NOT POSSIBLE. FOR THE TIME BEING WE SHOULD LET THE DUST SETTLE. END SUMMARY.

1. GRAHAM AND I HAD A LENGTHY CONVERSATION WITH JACK GAYLARD BEFORE OUR DEPARTURE FROM SALISBURY THURSDAY SEPT 7. WE STARTED OUT BY DESCRIBING ZAMBIAN FM MWALE'S APPROACH TO ALLINSON AND CLINGERMAN NOTING THAT WE HOPED THEY WOULD SERIOUSLY CONSIDER THE BROAD POLITICAL IMPLICATIONS OF AN ATTACK AGAINST ZAMBIA. GAYLARD REPLIED BY SAYING THAT MWALE'S INTELLIGENCE WAS WRONG. WHEN WE RETURNED TO THE SUBJECT AT THE END OF OUR CONVERSATION, HE SAID WE COULD INFORM MWALE OF THIS VIEW AND SAY "NOTHING WILD" WAS CONTEMPLATED.

SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 02 MAPUTO 01147 071602Z

2. WE ASKED GAYLARD WHAT SMITH HAD IN MIND WITH HIS STATEMENT YESTERDAY THAT A NOW "FIRM" COURSE FOR RHODESIA WOULD BE ANNOUNCED IN THE NEXT DAY OR TWO. GAYLARD SAID HE DIDN'T KNOW BUT ASSUMED IT WOULD RELATE TO MILITARY MEASURES.

3. GAYLARD ALSO MADE IT QUITE CLEAR THAT, AS INDICATED BY CO MINISTER OF INTERIOR HAYMAN IN PARLIAMENT YESTERDAY.

THERE WAS NO CHANCE THAT THE ELECTION TIME TABLE COULD BE MAINTAINED. THE CONSTITUTION COULDN'T BE COMPLETED UNTIL THE END OF SEPTEMBER; ITS PUBLICATION IN A WHITE PAPER AND THE REFERENDUM WOULD TAKE ANOTHER THREE WEEKS. THEN PARLIAMENT WOULD HAVE TO DEBATE AND PASS IT. BY THE TIME THE RAINS MAY HAVE SET IN MAKING DECEMBER ELECTIONS VIRTUALLY IMPOSSIBLE. THERE WAS NO THOUGHT OF TURNING OVER THE GOVERNMENT TO A COALITION OF INTERNAL LEADERS. HOWEVER ATTACHED SITHOLE WAS TO THE DEC 31 DATE IT COULD NOT BE MET.

3. AS TO FURTHER NEGOTIATION NKOMO HAD "PUT PAID" TO THAT WITH HIS BOASTING ABOUT HAVING SHOT DOWN THE VISCOUNT OUTRAGE AND DEMAND FOR RETALIATION OVER THAT INCIDENT WAS RUNNING HIGH (SEPTEL). EVEN WITHOUT THE VISCOUNT INCIDENT NKOMO HAD MADE IT IMPOSSIBLE FOR SMITH TO CONTINUE THE DIALOGUE BY FALSELY CLAIMING THAT AT THE AUG 14 MEETING SMITH HAD OFFERED TO TURN POWER OVER TO THE PF.

4. WE DISCUSSED THE FRONT MEETING LAST WEEKEND CONTESTING GAYLARDS STATEMENT THAT NYERERE'S VIEW HAD "PREVAILED" WE SAID THAT ACCORDING TO OUR INFORMATION NKOMO. BACKED BY KAUNDA, KHAMA AND THE NIGERIANS WAS QUITE PREPARED TO CONTINUE THE DISCUSSIONS. GAYLARD INSISTED THAT NKOMO WAS UNWILLING TO LEAVE MUGABE WHO DOMINATED HIM. WE SUGGESTED THAT BE PUT TO THE TEST NOT BY MEANS OF PRIVATE DEALS, BUT BY INDICATING A WILLINGNESS AT A MEETING TO ACCEPT A NEW  
SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 03 MAPUTO 01147 071602Z

AGREEMENT ALONG THE LINES OF THE AAP WHICH WAS A IRREVERSIBLE INTEGRATED THE ARMIES, ETC. IN THIS EVENT WE BELIEVED THE FRONT LINE WOULD BACK NKOMO IN ACCEPTING AND MUGABE COULD DECIDE FOR HIMSELF WHETHER TO JOIN IN. IF HE DIDN'T SOME OF THE ZANU KARANGA MILITARY LEADERS MIGHT. GAYLARD ACKNOWLEDGED THIS POSSIBILITY WE SUGGESTED THE DESIRABILITY OF ENCOURAGING THE KAUNDA-NIGERIAN NKOMO VIEW THAT FURTHER NEGOTIATIONS COULD BE USEFUL, INTERPRETING THE SEPT 6 OPEN LETTER IN THE TIME OF ZAMBIA AS A PLEA FOR A STATEMENT OF THIS KIND, BUT GAYLARD WOULD NOT BUDGE FROM THE POSITION THAT SMITH MUST CONCERN HIMSELF WITH THE INTERNAL RATHER THAN THE EXTERNAL POLITICAL PROBLEM. (I.E. REACTION TO THE VISCOUNT DISASTER, DISSENTION WITHIN THE EXECUTIVE COUNCIL) WE MUST LET THE DUST SETTLE HE SAID AGAIN AND HE REFUSED TO DENY THAT HE WAS RULING OUT AN ALL PARTIES MEETING FOR THE TIME BEING.

5. WE ASKED WHERE HE SAW EVENTS TAKING RHODESIA IF NEGOTIATIONS WERE REJECTED AND THE MARCH 3RD AGREEMENT COULDN'T BE CARRIED OUT. THIS LED ONLY TO A RATHER LENGTHY REVIEW OF THE PAST IN WHICH HE BLAMED UK AND US FOR NOT SUPPORTING THE INTERNAL SETTLEMENT. HE HOPED WE WOULD NOW REVIEW THE POSSIBILITY

OF SUPPORTING IT. WE POINTED OUT WE HAD TOLD THEM IT  
WOULD NOT WORK BEFORE HAND UNLESS THOSE WHO COMMANDED THE FLIGHT-  
ING FORCES WERE INCLUDED, THEY COULD NOT HAVE EXPECTED OUR  
SUPPORT, EVEN SO WE SAID WE WOULD HAVE ACCEPTED A SUCCESSFUL  
RESULT BUT THAT IN THE FINAL ANALYSIS IT WAS THEIR OWN LACK  
OF SUPPORT FOR THE AGREEMENT BY FAILING TO FOLLOW THROUGH  
WITH ABOLISHING DISCRIMINATION AND OTHER MEASURES WHICH CONDEMNED  
THE AGREEMENT. OUR SUPPORT AT THIS STAGE IS EVEN LESS LIKELY.  
EVENTUALLY, THERE MUST BE A RETURN TO NEGOTIATIONS. IT WAS THE ONLY  
WAY TO SETTLE THE CONFLICT. WE SAID THAT WE HOPED MR. SMITH  
WOULD ASSERT HIS LEADERSHIP TO TRY TO CALM AGITATED FEELINGS  
OF THE MOMENT AND STEER PUBLIC OPINION BACK TO ACCEPTANCE  
OF DISCUSSIONS RATHER THAN THE OPPOSITE.

SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 04 MAPUTO 01147 071602Z

6. COMMENT. THE CONVERSATION CONFIRMS MANY OF OUR FEAR EXPRESSED  
DURING RECENT. WEEKS, THE SMITH REGIME.

- 1) HAS TAKEN A CLEAR STEP BACK FROM NEGOTIATIONS INCLUDING  
THE PF SEPARATELY OR TOGETHER WITH INTERNAL PARTIES.
- 2) THERE WILL BE NO ELECTIONS IN DECEMBER. THE PRESENT  
REGIME PROBABLY WILL EXTENDED AS SMITH HANGS ON TO THE ONLY  
THING HE HAS THE MARCH 3RD AGREEMENT (TALLERED AS IT MAY BE)
- 3) THE MILITARY RESISTANCE TO THE GUERRILLAS WILL BE STEPPED UP.
- 4) THERE IS NOTHING FOR US TO DO BUT TO WAIT OUT THE  
SITUATION UNTIL THE BRITISH ELECTION QUESTION IS SORTED OUT.

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## Message Attributes

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